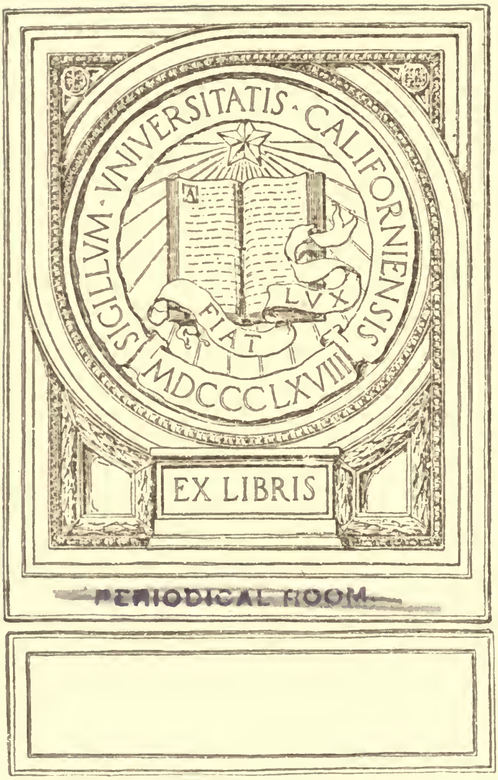

PERIODICAL ROOM

Gaisford Prize—Greek Prose

1893

Supposed Speech of Abraham Lincoln, on the occasion of his second election to the Presidency of the United States

(*In the style of Thucydides*)

BY

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1893

IMAGINARY SPEECH BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SECOND INAUGURATION

IN THE STYLE OF THUCYDIDES.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

My Friends,

I am indeed rejoiced to be honoured by this numerous and enthusiastic gathering. It is a great token of your goodwill. And when a man is grappling with a task full of dangers and pitfalls, the encouragement of friends acts like a charm in strengthening his purpose to go forth with renewed zeal to his work; without it, his mind is paralyzed in the face of a crisis. It is because the reality and not the semblance of justice has been my constant ideal, that I have reached my present exalted station, one with which no poor man has ever been honoured by you before. And it would have been hard indeed if, having been elected by you when the state was in dangerous waters, I had been dismissed just as I was safely piloting her into harbour. For let no man think that I plunged the state into war. Our enemies were thirsting for a conflict and were the first to do us wrong, by dismantling one of our forts. Yet, granting to the full that *we* had been the first to act, it would still have been unfair to lay the origin of the dispute at our door. For I say that a war is stirred up not by the man who, smarting under an insult, strikes the first swift blow in self defence, but by him who, overriding all laws sacred and profane, tries to steal away his neighbours' possessions. We could no longer brook to see the enslavement of some an accomplished fact, that of others impending. Let me not waste words in relating the causes and progress of the war—They are matters of common knowledge. But there are some points upon which I should like to refresh your memory. Among other falsehoods to which they give currency about the slaves, is the fiction that

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΣ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΤΩ ΔΗΜΩ ΔΙΟΙΚΩΝ.

Καὶ ἀσμένῳ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, συνέβη ταῦτα ὑφ' ὑμῶν, πλήθει τε παρόντων καὶ θορυβούντων τιμᾶσθαι· μέγα γὰρ εὐνοίας τεκμήριον· τῷ δὲ δεινοῖς τε καὶ σφαλεροῖς προσομιλοῦντι, ἡ τῶν φίλων παραμυθία, ἀεὶ μετὰ κηλήσεως συνοῦσα, πολλὴν ἔχει γνώμης βεβαίωσιν ἐς τὸ προθυμότερον πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ἐξίκεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ μὴ τυχόντι αὐτὴ ἑαυτῆς ἀσθενεστέρα ἡ διάνοια παρὰ τὰς ξυμφορὰς ἐγένετο. ἀεὶ γὰρ τοῦτο προὐθυμήθην ὅπως τῇ ἀληθεῖ ἀλλὰ μὴ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ δοκούσῃ εἶναι χρησαίμην. δι' ὅπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς τόδε ἀξιώματος προβέβηκα, ὥστε πλεῖστα εἷς ἀνὴρ πένης ὑφ' ὑμῶν τετιμῆσθαι· καὶ δεινὸν ἦν εἰ, μετεώρου τῆς πόλεως ἄρχειν αἱρεθείς, ἐς λιμένα ὅσον οὐ καταγαγὼν αὐτὴν παρελύθην. μηδεὶς γὰρ οἰηθῇ ὡς ἡσυχάζουσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐς πόλεμον κατέστησα. οἱ γὰρ ἐναντίοι δῆλοι ἦσαν πολεμησείοντες καὶ πρῶτοι ὑπῆρξαν ἀδικίας, τεῖχος τῶν ἡμετέρων καθελόντες, εἰ μέντοι τὰ μάλιστα οὐχ οὗτοι ἦσαν ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οἱ δρῶντες, τῆς διαφορᾶς τὴν αἰτίαν ἡμῖν τις ἐπιφέρων οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς αἰτιάσαιτο. πόλεμον γὰρ ἐγείρει, οὐχ ὃς ἂν τὰ αὑτοῦ σώζων φθάσας προκαταλάβῃ ὑβρισθείς, ἀλλ' ὃς ἄν, πάντα θεῖα καὶ ὅσια προπηλακίσας, τῶν ἀλλοτρίων λαθὼν πλεονεκτεῖν πειραθῇ. οὐδὲ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει ἡμῖν τοὺς μὲν ἤδη καταδεδουλῶσθαι, τοὺς δὲ μὴ διὰ μακροῦ τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχειν. ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ὅπως καὶ ὧν ἕνεκα ἐπολεμήθη ἐν εἰδόσι τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν; ὅμως ἔστιν ἃ περὶ αὐτὸ προεπισταμένους ὑμᾶς ὑπομνῆσαι ἂν βουλοίμην. ὅσα γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἄλλα τε οὐκ ὄντα λέγουσιν ἐπικαταψευδόμενοι, καὶ ὡς, ὕβρει καὶ κακίᾳ ἐπαρθέντες, τά σφισιν ὑπάρχοντα ἀγαθὰ φθονήσαντες ἀποστεροῦμεν, πᾶν τοὐναντίον αὐτοὶ τῷ ἐγκλήματι τούτῳ μάλιστα ἔνοχοι γεγόνασιν. ὅσον γὰρ χρόνον τὰ σφέτερα καρπούμενοι τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐχρῶντο, καὶ ἡμεῖς, οὐ μὲν δίκαιον ἡγούμενοι εἴ τις ἄλλον τινὰ ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον ὄντα καὶ τῇ γε φύσει οὐδένος ἧσσον ἐλεύθερον καταδουλωσάμενος ἕξει, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κατὰ μέρος δικαίου τὴν κοινὴν σωτηρίαν προτιμήσαντες, ἐνθυμούμενοι ὡς εἰ λόγῳ ἀποτρέψαι αὐτοὺς πειρασαίμεθα, οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιντο νουθετούμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀποστάντες, οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἢ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς ἀδικήμασι διατελοῖεν, καὶ ἅμα μὴ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη εἴη κίνδυνος, μὴ διασπασθὲν καὶ δίχα γενόμενον διαφθαρείη, τέως μὲν οὖν ἡσυχίαν ἤγομεν, ἀγαπῶντες εἰ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς γε ἀγαθοὶ γενοίμεθα, ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτοι ἐς τοῦτο ἀναισχυντίας προῆλθον ὥστε καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ σφέτερον μύσος ἐμποιεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐκέτι περιοπτέα ἦν ἀλλ' ἀπροφασίστως ἀμυντέον καὶ οὐχ ὑπεικτέον. εἶτα ποίῳ σὺν δικαίῳ ἐν αἰτίᾳ ἐσόμεθα ὡς ἀλλοτρίων πλεονέκται ἐσμέν, αὐτοὶ πλεονεκτούμενοι; ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἥδε περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως γνώμη· κωλύοντος τοῦ ἡλίου, εἴπερ τινὸς ἀγριωτάτου περὶ τὰ ταύτῃ χωρία κατέχοντος, πάντας ἀνθρώπους πλὴν Λιβύων γε, ἀναγκαζομένων δὲ καὶ τούτων, ἐργάζεσθαι, τῶν δὲ προσόδων σφισὶν ἐν τοῖς πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ἄγρων τῆς ἐργασίας προσιούσων, δυοῖν οὖν θάτερόν σφισι παρασχεῖν,

out of sheer maliciousness and truculence, we are trying to oust them from their envied possessions; whereas on the contrary that is exactly the charge upon which they may themselves be convicted. So long as they confined their system of slavery strictly within their own sphere, though we regarded it as unjust for man to hold in slavery his fellow man, by right of nature no less free than himself, we set the common welfare before individual justice; we reflected that, if we tried to turn them from their path by persuasion, they would resent our reproof, and would desert the Union, while not departing an inch from their evil courses. And we feared for the general body politic that it might be torn asunder and perish utterly. So for a space we held our peace, content with the purity of our own actions. But when they carried their arrogant pretensions to the pitch of attempting to infect us with their own taint, then indeed the matter could no longer be overlooked; the time for concession was passed, the hour for uncompromising resistance had struck. How then in common fairness can we be set down as the aggressors, when we ourselves have been the victims of aggression? The way the secessionists looked at the matter was as follows: Such is the fierceness of the sun in those parts, that it makes manual labour impossible for any but negroes, and even those must be under compulsion. Now as their chief source of revenue lay in agriculture, they had two alternatives before them, to keep their slaves and survive, or to lose their all. On our side we had once let them have their way, now we were preventing them. "Would it not be better" they argued "if we left the Union altogether and formed a separate political unit of our own? We have land in plenty, of the finest quality, abounding in natural resources. If our manners and customs are so distasteful to them, well then, let us leave them to bask in the sunshine of their own self-righteousness, while we sin in peace." "Never" they said "did we enter into a voluntary partnership to be kept tied and bound by it against our interests. It was no in-

ἢ μετὰ δούλων περιέσεσθαι, ἢ τῆς γε οὐσίας ἐστερῆσθαι· ἡμῶν δὲ δῆθεν πρότερον μὲν ἐασάντων, τότε δὲ κωλυόντων, ἀμείνω αὐτοῖς συμβήσεσθαι, εἰ, ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀποστάντες, καθ' αὑτοὺς τὸ λοιπὸν πολιτεύσουσιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἱκανῆς σφισὶ χώρας ὑπαρχούσης, καὶ ταύτης οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν ἄλλων λειπομένης, ἔτι δὲ χρημάτων ἀφθόνων ὅσων γεμούσης. ὥστε εἰ τὰ αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδεύματα ἡμῖν πάνυ ἀπαρέσκειν, ἡμῖν μὲν ἐξεῖναι κατὰ μόνας ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, σφισὶ δὲ ἁμαρτάνειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν τούτου ἕνεκα ἡμῖν ἑκούσιοι κοινωνίαν ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα παρὰ τὸ ξύμφερον ἐν αὐτῇ μένειν βιάζοιντο, οὐδ' ἐς ἀεὶ ὥσπερ κῆδος ἀμετακίνητον συνάψασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα καιροῦ ἕνεκα ξυνθήκην, ἣ μετὰ τοῦ ξυμφέροντός τε συντίθεται καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου διαλύεται, καὶ ὅμοια μὲν φρονούντων μένει, ἄλλα δὲ γνόντων παύεται. μέλλειν δέ που ἡμᾶς καλῶς τοῦτο ἐπίστασθαι, καπηλικόν γε ὄντας γένος καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ ξυναλλάγματα οὐκ ἀπείρους, οὐδὲ εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντίσχειν αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ πεισθῆναι. εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ μεθ' ὅπλων διακριθῆναι τολμήσαιμεν, οὐκ ἐς μακρόν σφισιν ἡμᾶς ἀμάχους μαχιμωτάτοις ὑποστήσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς περιπεσεῖσθαι, τὰ μὲν δειλίᾳ, ἔστι δὲ ἃ προδοσίᾳ. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα πάνυ διαφέρειν σφεῖς ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν βελτίστων ἀνδρῶν σωφροσύνην ἔννομον οἰκεῖν προτιμῶντες, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐς πονηρίαν μᾶλλον ἐξάγοντας τὰ πράγματα, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἡγούμενοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις δεῖν εἶναι τὸ κράτος, τῷ δὲ φύσει ὑποδεεστέρῳ ὑπακουστέον τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ μέτρια δουλευτέον, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τούς, ἰσότητος ὀνόματι εὐπρεπεῖ, ἔργῳ τὸ ἄμεινον τῷ χείρονι καὶ πλήθει καταδουλοῦντας· ἑνὶ δὲ κεφαλαίῳ ἐν μὲν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ διατελοῦσιν πάνυ ἀβίωτον ἂν σφισι γενέσθαι, ἀπόστασιν δὲ ἀσφαλείᾳ τε καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀϊδίῳ ταὐτὸν δύνασθαι. τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ οὐχ ἡμεῖς τῆς γνώμης ἐξέσταμεν, οὗτοι δὲ μετεβάλοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἦμεν. τὸ γὰρ κοινὸν σώζοντες εἰῶμεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς ἀδικεῖν, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἤθελον, ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζειν ταὐτὸν ποιεῖν, ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀφεστάναι.

Τοῦ δ' οὖν πολέμου ἅπαξ κινηθέντος, οὐκέτι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἦν ὁ ἀγών, εἰκότως· ὅσα γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ κοινοῦ ἕνεκα ἀμείνω ἐδόκει μὴ κινούμενα, ταῦτα πολεμούντων ἤδη περιμάχητα ἦν, ὥστε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ τῆς τούτων ἀδικίας ἠμελοῦμεν, τότε δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐκνικητέον ἦν, ὅπως τῆς καταδουλώσεως παύσωνται· ἄτοπον γὰρ ἦν εἰ οὗτοι, αὐτοὶ μὲν πρότερον ἠξίουν αὐτόνομοι εἶναι, ὡς πάντων δὴ ἀνθρώπων φύσει ἴσων καὶ ὁμοίων τυγχανόντων, ἄλλους δὲ τοσάδε ἤδη ἔτη κατεδουλοῦντο· ἀλλ' ἔδει ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν ἐθέλειν, ἢ μηδὲ ἑτέρους ἀναγκάζειν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἀδίκως ἑτέρων πλεονεκτοῦντες, οὐ μόνον ὧν ἐπεθύμησαν ἀπέτυχον τὸ πλέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ προϋπάρχοντα προσαπώλεσαν. ἃ καὶ οὗτοι ἔπαθον. ἡμῶν γὰρ προκηρυξάντων ὅτι «ἐάν τις κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα χωρία ἢ ἄλλοθί που, ὅσης ἡμεῖς ἄρχομεν, ἔτι δουλεύῃ, οὗτος νῦν τε καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς ἐλευθέρους τελείτω,» οὐδεὶς διε-

dissoluble bond of marriage into which we entered, but a temporary contract, such as expediency binds and expediency looses, such as holds good when there is unity of purpose, but vanishes the moment disagreement arises. The Northerners should be the last persons in the world to deny this, a nation of shopkeepers, used to all kinds of commercial transactions. No, they will not hold out for long before they fall in with our views. But even if they should decide to put the matter to the test of the sword, they are an unwarlike race and will soon fall before the onslaught of such fighters as ourselves; before long cowardice or treachery will throw them into confusion." "Great," they declared, "is the contrast between the two peoples. *We* stand for the law-abiding reserve of an aristocratic *régime; they* lean towards the corruption and license of democracy. We believe in placing power in the hands of the best men, in making those naturally inferior learn to obey and to submit to a modified form of servitude; they, under the specious name of equality, in practice put what is best under the heel of the inferior, or, in other words, the mob." "In short," they said "if we remain in the Union, life will no longer be endurable for us, while secession will be tantamount to perpetual freedom and security." In point of fact it was not we who had altered our minds, but they. Our standpoint was unchanged. For the common good we tried to leave them alone in their wrongdoing. But they would not. Either we must be compelled to follow their example, or they insisted on secession.

However hostilities once began, neither the conditions nor the objects of the war remained the same—Naturally. There were questions which at first we considered best left untouched for the common good. Once we were at war, these questions must be fought out. Consequently while we had originally disregarded their course of action, now we were bound to carry through our purpose of putting a stop to slavery altogether. For their position was preposterous. They claimed autonomy on the ground

γένετο χρόνος καὶ ἤδη εἰκοσακισμύριοι μάλιστα ἄνδρες μάχιμοι πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον προσχωρήσαντες, τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν ἀνάλωσιν πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν προσθήκην συμμετρουμένην διπλασίαν παρείχοντο· ὥστε οἱ καλοκάγαθοὶ καλούμενοι, πρὶν μὲν καταγνόντες ἡμῶν ἀσθένειαν, ὡς ἄρα διὰ δήμου τὸ ἀκατάστατον καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν μεγίστων οὔποτε ὁμόνοιαν, δι' ὀλίγου στάσεως ἐμπλησθέντες αὐτοὶ περὶ αὐτοῖς πταίσαιμεν, (καὶ ἦν δέ τι ἐν τῇ πόλει οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς βουλευόμενον ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὰ πράγματα ὑποχείρια καθιστάν), καὶ ἅμα ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐσβαλόντες πάντα τάχα ἀνάστατα ποιήσεσθαι, νῦν δὴ περιέστη τὸ μὲν ἡμῶν ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ὁμονοεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα στασιάζεσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πάνυ διαστῆναι, ἔτι δὲ ἡμᾶς τὰ σφέτερα ἄγοντας καὶ φέροντας καὶ λείαν ποιησαμένους μηδὲν δεινὸν πάσχειν. τὴν γὰρ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἀπόστασιν ῥοπὴν πολέμου τις νομίζων οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι· δίχα γοῦν ὄντων αὐτῶν τὰς μὲν ἤδη νενικήκαμεν μαχάς, τὰς δὲ καὶ νικήσομεν· λαμπρῶς γὰρ ἤδη κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν ἐπικείμεθα, λιμέσι τε ἐφορμοῦντες καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἀποκλήσαντες, ὥστε ἢν μὲν ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καταστάντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τάχα παραδῶσιν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἡμεῖς γε οὐ χαλεπῶς χειρωσόμεθα.

'Αλλ' οὗπερ διὰ παντὸς ἥκιστα δεῖ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι, μαθεῖν χρή· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς βαρβάρους καὶ ἀλλοφύλους, οὐδ' οὖν πρὸς πολεμίους πόλεμον ἠράμεθα, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς ξυγγενεῖς μὲν ὄντας,ἐχθροὺς δὲ γενομένους, ὥστε πρέπει ἡμᾶς ὡς τάχα διαλλαχθησομένους καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσοντας, οὕτω διανοεῖσθαι. αἰδὼς γὰρ μετὰ φειδοῦς μέγιστος ἀνδρείας κοσμός· τὸ δὲ εὔψυχον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ τις τοὺς ἐναντίους κρατήσας, εἶτα ἰδίας ὀργῆς ἡσσηθεὶς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον φονεύων καὶ ληιζόμενος ἐπέλθῃ, ἀλλ' ὃς ἄν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος, πρὸς τοὺς νικηθέντας μετρίως καὶ πράως προσφέρηται. ὑμῖν οὖν, ὅσοι στρατηγεῖτε, ἐπισκήπτω καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ μαρτύρομαι μὴ χαλεποὺς ὑμᾶς παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὴ πάνυ ἐνδόντας ἐκείνοις, κατὰ τὸ δύνατον φόνου ἀπέχεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς μὲν ἤδη ἐκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀποτεθνεῶτας ὀλοφύρονται, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἡμῶν ἡ λύπη παυσάσθω· ἅλις τοσοῦτοι πενθοῦντες. ἐὰν δέ τις, κατὰ τὸ εἰκός, πατέρα ἢ ἀδελφὸν ἢ φίλον ἢ ξυγγενῆ ἐν μάχῃ ἀπολέσας χαλεπαίνῃ, καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι γλίχηται, ἀνεπίφθονον μὲν αὐτῷ ἀγανακτεῖν, ὅμως δὲ μαθέτω μὴ κακοῖς τὸ λεγόμενον κακὰ ἰᾶσθαι· ἐπεὶ ὧδε σκέψασθε· πῶς γὰρ ἀνεκτόν, εἰ οὗτοι μέν, πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν σκοποῦντες, μὴ διαφθαρείη, οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ ἔχοντες τὴν διαφορὰν καταλύσασθαι, ἀκουσίως μὲν ἀναγκαίως δὲ τολμήσαντες ἰδίᾳ μεθ' ὅπλων διακινδυνεῦσαι ἐτελεύτησαν, ἡμεῖς δέ, παρασχὸν ἡμῖν, ἤτοι μετὰ βραχέος γε ἢ οὐδένος φόνου, ὃ βουλόμεθα μετελθεῖν, εἶτα, ἰδίων ἕνεκα ἐγκλημάτων, τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ καὶ ἀριστοῦ ἀμελήσομεν, τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ μὲν ἀναγκαίου δὲ ἑκούσιοι παρὰ τὸ δέον ἑξόμεθα; δεῖ δ' οὔ, ἀλλὰ τῆς τούτων τιμῆς ἐπιμελεστέρους εἶναι, ὅπως ἀξία ὧν ἔδρασαν γενήσεται; ἡ δὲ οὐ δι' ἐχθρῶν τιμωρίας γίγνεται, μηδὲ

of the natural equality of mankind, yet they were all the time and had been for years holding others in subjection. They ought either themselves to submit to authority, or not compel others to do so. However men who are engaged in preying on their neighbour, are often found not only to fail in the attainment of the object they have coveted, but to lose their original possessions into the bargain. And this is what actually occurred—No sooner had our proclamation gone forth to the effect that "If any person is still kept in slavery in the said territory or in any other territory over which we have jurisdiction, such person is for ever hereafter to be regarded as free", than 200,000 fighting men came over to our side. The loss of the enemy was added to our gains and doubled it. These so-called fine gentlemen had convicted us of weakness on the ground that the fickleness of democracy, with its eternal conflicts of views on the most momentous questions, would fill us with strife and compass our ruin—(And I will not deny that there was a small party among us with sinister intentions, which aimed at delivering us into the hands of our enemies.) They further boasted that they would invade our territory and spread confusion everywhere. What has happened? Ours is the political unity, theirs the disunion or rather total disruption. And it is we who have spread rapine and plunder over the whole face of their country without suffering any injury in return—The fact is, the revolt of the slaves was the turning-point of the war. Ever since their division, we have won many battles and we shall win many more—We are pressing them hard and brilliantly by land and sea, we are blockading their harbours and cutting off their towns. Before long, if I am not mistaken, they will be driven to despair and hand themselves over to us. If not, we shall have no difficulty in overcoming them—Now there is one thing which you must constantly bear in mind. The war we are waging is no war against a savage or a foreign race, nor indeed against our natural enemies; rather it is a war against men who are our own kith and

ἐνθυμεῖσθε, οὐδ' αὖ στηλῶν καὶ τάφων ἀναθήμασι τὸ πλέον (τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἱκανὰ λήξονται), ἀλλὰ σωμάτων καὶ ψυχῶν, εἰ εἷς ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἀναθήσει, ὃ ἐκεῖνοι ἀτελὲς ὑπέλιπον, τὸ τὴν ἐς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν ἐν ἅπασι βεβαιοῦν, καὶ μίαν πόλιν ἀλλ' οὐ δύο καταστῆσαι αὐτήν, ὅπως ἡ πατρὶς τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τετελευτηκόσιν ἀκέραιος σώζηται, ὡς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ μείζονι τὴν προθυμίαν ἂν δεικνύντες. ἐπεὶ οὐ σμικρῶς ἀξία θαυμάζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν γῆς, ἣν κατὰ πάντα μεγαλοπρεπῆ οἰκοῦμεν, ἔς τε ποταμοὺς μεγέθους πέρι καὶ λιμένων χρῆσιν, ὀρῶν τε ὑψηλότητι καὶ ἅμα σίτου καὶ φυτῶν, ὅσα γῆ ἀνίησιν, ἁπάντων ἀφθονίᾳ. ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ θαλάσσῃ ἑκατέρωθεν περικλυσθεῖσα, τῆς οἰκουμένης ὥσπερ ὄμφαλος, μέση 'Ασίας τε καὶ Εὐρώπης ἱδρυμένη, ἐξ ἑκατέρας τε τὰ πρόσφορα καρπουμένη, τῆς μὲν ἐς τὰς τέχνας δεινοτέρα, τῆς δὲ πλουσιωτέρα ἀμφοῖν δὲ αὐταρκεστέρα κατέστη. οὐκ οὖν μεγάλῃ ἀρχῇ καὶ ἀντιπάλῳ ὅμοροι ἐποικοῦντες, ἀεὶ δι' ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ ἀντιφυλακῆς τῶν πέλας, ἐς μεγάλα στρατόπεδα δαπανῶντες καὶ πράγματα ἔχοντες, μετὰ κινδύνων διάγομεν. πρόσετι δὲ οὐχ' ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅσα μέγαλα, ἀρχὴν πολλὴν μέν, διεσπασμένην δὲ κεκτήμεθα, ὅλην δὲ ἤπειρον οὖσαν καὶ ἐς μίαν συμπεφυκυῖαν, πόλεων πλήθει πολυανδροῦσαν, καὶ μυρίαις ὁδῶν κατασκευαῖς ἐς πόλεμον καὶ εἰρήνην φορτίου κομιδὴν ἢ στρατιᾶς ἀγωγὴν εὐπορωτάτην παρέχουσαν.

Χρώμεθα δὲ πολιτείᾳ ἀγαθοῖς νόμοις ἡρμοσμένῃ, καὶ ἅπασι τὸ ἴσον νεμούσῃ, τάς τε ἀρχὰς οὐ κατὰ πλοῦτον ἢ προγόνων προτίμησιν ἀλλ' ἀξιώματος, καθ' ὅσον ἄν τις ἰδίᾳ ἐλλαμπρύνηται, μεταδιδούσῃ. ὥστε ἥκιστ' ἄν τις ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τοῖς ἀεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ οὖσι φθονήσειε διὰ τὸ κἂν αὐτός ποτε ἐς αὐτὰς προελθεῖν ἐλπίσαι· ἔτι δέ, ὅπερ ἀνάγκη πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ, ἥτις καὶ ἀξία του, προσεῖναι, μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς εἶναι νόμους τε τίθεσθαι καὶ δίκας κρίνειν ἢ βουλεύειν, ἡμῖν, εἴ τισι καὶ ἄλλοις, σύμφερον ὄν, ὑπάρχει. εἰ δέ τι ἐξεκλίναμεν αὐτοῦ, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει διοικήσεως παρανόμου εἰσαγγελθέντας διὰ τῆς βουλῆς μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ δικασταῖς τοῖς εἰωθότι κρίνοντες, οὐδὲ μνησθῆναι ἄξιον. πρὸς γὰρ ὅλον τὸ ἀποβαῖνον ἀποβλέποντι ἡ ἐξέτασις τῆς γνώμης βέλτιον γίγνεται ἢ ἐκ τῆς περὶ ἕκαστα ἐπιμελεστέρας ἀκριβείας. τὸ γοῦν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἀναριθμήτων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ γῆς ἐς μέγεθος ἀπείρου μίαν πολιτείαν ἀπὸ κοινῆς διανοίας γνώμῃ ἐπινοήσαντας καὶ ἔργῳ μετὰ βεβαιότητος ἀσφαλείᾳ ἐπιτελέσαι, πρῶτον ἐφ' ἡμῖν οἷόν τε ὂν δεδήλωται. οἱ γὰρ κτίσαντες αὐτὴν τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἴσαπερ μετέχοντες καὶ οὐδένος ὑπακούοντες, οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἠξίωσαν, ξυνθήκην ποιησάμενοι καὶ ἀρχὰς καταστήσαντες, διὰ τὴν πάντων σωτηρίαν ἰδίᾳ τι ἐλασσωθῆναι, ἵνα τε μὴ διὰ μέσου ἀμφίλογα γένοιτο, ἐς ξυγγραφὴν συνεστήσαντο αὐτήν, ὅρκους ὀμόσαντες καὶ πίστεις τὰς μεγίστας εἶναι δοκούσας διδόντες καὶ λαβόντες. ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὸ σφέτερον πόλεως σχῆμα πολλῶν ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ μελέτῃ ἐκ πλειστοῦ χρόνου ἔργῳ βασανισθὲν ἐπαινοῦσι, καὶ ὅτι ἀεὶ ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν προγόνων

kin, but who have been estranged from us—We must therefore prepare our minds for speedy and ungrudging reconciliation. The greatest ornament of bravery is forbearance and mercy. True courage is not his, who having overcome his foe, falls a victim to his own rancour and goes to extreme lengths of carnage and plunder; rather it is his, who has the self-mastery to treat his enemy with gentleness and moderation. Those of you therefore who are in command, I beg, nay, I entreat, do not show yourselves hard masters. So far as you can without yielding your ground, refrain from bloodshed. Already they have many victims of this war to weep over, and so have we—Let this be the consummation of our grief. There are mourners enough and to spare—If any man, as needs be, who has lost a father or a brother or a friend or a kinsman in the war, is moved to wrath and thirsts for revenge, small blame to him for his anger; still, let him learn not, as the proverb goes, to heal evil with evil. For look you, the thing is intolerable —To preserve the commonwealth from destruction, when there was no other way of composing their differences, these men, reluctantly yielding to necessity, faced in their own private persons the arbitrament of the sword, and so went to their doom. And shall we, when we can gain our ends with little or no bloodshed, for the sake of our own private quarrels, disregard what is best and for the common good, and out of season cling to what is bad and only necessity can justify? Never. Let us rather see to it that the honour to which these men attain is worthy of their deeds. Such honour, believe me, is gained, not by revenge on the foe, nor by the dedication of monuments or tombs (of such they will have their fill) but by the dedication of bodies and souls, by each one of you devoting himself to the completion of the work which they have left unfinished, the consolidation of general unity amongst ourselves, and the welding together of the state into a nation one and indivisible. So will our country be preserved inviolate for those who perished for her sake. Be sure, in no worthier cause could

τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον καὶ τελειότερον προῆλθε, μεγαλύνονται εἰκότως· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄνευ πόνου καὶ μελέτης παραχρῆμα τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπεδείξαμεν, ἔτι δὲ βέλτιον ὅσῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀρχαιοτρόποις τοῖς νόμοις καί σφισιν ἐναντίοις τοῖς πολλοῖς ἢ χρόνῳ ἀμελουμένοις κωλυόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἅπαντα σύμφωνά τε ἑαυτοῖς καὶ χρήσιμα καὶ ἁπλᾶ ἔχομεν. κατὰ ταῦτά τε οἰκοῦσιν ἡμῖν οὕτως ἐπηυξήθη τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε τὸ πρῶτον τριακοσίων μάλιστα μυριάδων ἀνθρώπων κοινῇ συμπολιτεύεσθαι συμβάντων, ὀλίγου ἐς ἑξακισχιλίας μυριάδας ἐπέδοσαν τὸ πλῆθος, ὧν οὐδεὶς ὅστις ὑφ' ἑτέρου ὑπερέχεσθαι καὶ καταφρονεῖσθαι δικαιοῖ. ἐντός γε μὴν τῶν τεσσάρων ἐτῶν τῶν δε, ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ὑμῶν προστάτην ἐμὲ ἀπεδείξατε, ἤδη πολλὴ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος αὔξησις ἐπεγένετο, καὶ τοῦτο πολέμου ἰσχύρου καθεστῶτος. ὥστε ἤν τις ὑμῶν σωμάτων τε φθορᾷ καὶ χρημάτων δαπανῇ, εἴ τι καὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπαναλώθη, καταπλαγῇ, ἐνθυμηθήτω τε ὡς ἅπερ ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ ἐκτησάμεθα καὶ αὖθις ἂν κερδάναιμεν, καὶ ἐς τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὸ ἦθος τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἀποβλέπων (ταῦτα γὰρ ἀΐδια καὶ οἷα μηδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἂν κατατριφθῆναι) θαρσείτω· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ῥαδία ἡ ἀνάληψις. καὶ γὰρ τρίων πολέμων ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ συνῳκίσθημεν, καταλαβόντων, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον τὴν τῶν Βριτάννων ἀρχήν, τῶν τότε οὐδεμιᾶς ἄλλης ἐς ἴσχυν καὶ παρασκευὴν τὴν πᾶσαν λειπομένην, μόνοι ὑποστάντες, τοσαύτην τόλμαν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀπεδείξαμεν, ὥστε ἐνδεᾶ μὲν τῆς διανοίας τυχεῖν πράξαντες, πᾶσι δὲ διὰ τὸ εὔψυχον ἴσχυος ὑπόνοιαν παρέχειν. ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὃν πρὸς τοὺς Μεξικάνους καλουμένους ἠράμεθα, οὔτε τοῦ ἀξιώματος οὐδὲν ἀπεβάλομεν, γῆν τε πολλὴν καὶ ἄριστα ἐσκευασμένην ἐπεκτησάμεθα. τὸν δὲ ἄρτι γενόμενον καὶ ὅσον οὐ διαπεπολεμημένον, ἔκ τε τῶν στρατευομένων τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τεκμαιρόμενος, ὅλων τε καὶ ὅσα ἐς ὄλεθρον χρήσιμα εὐπρεπείᾳ καὶ ἀκμῇ, οὐχ' ἥκιστα δὲ λογισμῷ χρώμενος περὶ ὅσων τῶν διαφόρων πολεμεῖται, πολλῷ τῶν προγεγενημένων τε ἀξιολογώτατον, ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ σύμπασι χρησιμώτατον ἡγοῦμαι. εἰ γὰρ αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων σαφῶς εἰκάζειν, εὖ θησόμεθα, σκέψασθε ὡς καλὸν ἡμῖν τὸ ἀγώνισμα, μὴ μόνον τριακοσίας ἀνθρώπων μυριάδας ἐλευθέρους καταστῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἅπασι κατάδηλον γενέσθαι, ὡς τὸ ἡμέτερον κοινὸν οὔτε στάσει οὔτε ἄλλῃ τέχνῃ οὔτε μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ ἐκ τῆς καθεστηκυίας τάξεως μετακινεῖται. συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως ἐπὶ πάσας ἰδέας χωρησάσης καὶ πολλὰ διαπραξάσης, οὐδὲν ὅτι, τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ συλλαβόντος, τῇ πολιτείᾳ ταύτῃ ὡμοιώθη· ἣν οὗτοι καταλύουσιν.

'Αλλὰ μὴν ἐλευθερίας τε πέρι καὶ παρρησίας τῶν τε τοιούτων, ἐφ' ὅσον ἔργῳ καὶ οὐ τὰ μέν, τὰ δ' οὔ, ἀλλὰ τελέως μετέχομεν, οὐκ ἐμοῦ που προσδεῖ ἐξηγήτου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἀγνοήσειεν. οὐκοῦν εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς τοιαύτην χώραν οἰκοῦντας καὶ οὕτως ἐσκευασμένην ἀντιπάλους καὶ τὰς διανοίας καθίστασθαι. ὅπερ καὶ συμβέβηκε· ὃ γὰρ μέγιστον ὑμῖν τε ὑπάρχει καὶ δι' αὐτὸ πλεῖστον ἔν τε τῷ παρελθόντι καὶ ἐν τῷ

you show your zeal. For the country we live in is very wonderful. All is on a scale of grandeur, both in the size of its rivers, the utility of its harbours, the loftiness of its mountains, and the abundance of all the gifts of the earth. On either side it is washed by the sea. It is the navel of the inhabited globe and lying midway between Europe and Asia, reaping its harvest of benefits from each, it has grown more cunning in the arts than the one, richer than the other, more self-sufficing than either. Nor do we live on the flanks of some mighty rival, ever plotting or guarding against our neighbour, spending vast sums of money on huge armaments, and living in endless worry and danger. Nor yet, like other great nations, do we own a great though scattered empire, but a continent in itself, single and homogeneous, swarming with populous cities, with its network of roads, providing easy transport for armies in war or merchandise in peace.

We enjoy a constitution knit together with just laws, which gives to each his due, which distributes its offices, not according to wealth or noble ancestry, but in proportion to the distinction gained by individual merit—So it comes to pass that envy of those in high places is almost eliminated, since everyone feels that he has an equal chance of attaining to them himself. Moreover, what is a necessary qualification of every constitution worthy of the name, that the legislature, judicature and executive should be kept distinct, is our especial and valuable privilege. Slight deviations therefrom, such as the impeachment of men accused of maladministration before the senate rather than a common jury, are hardly worthy of mention. For a discriminating judgment looks at the general result rather than at overminute questions of details. At least it is a fact that, for the first time in history, it has been shewn to be possible to conceive by a common effort of will and to carry into execution with security for its permanence, a single constitution affecting such vast numbers of men and such an enormous extent of territory. The men who founded that con-

νῦν ἑτέρων προκεκρίμεθα, τὸ κόσμιον καὶ ἔννομον τοῦ ἤθους ἐστίν, ὃ κωλύει ἡμᾶς μὴ μετὰ νόμων καὶ σχήματος πολιτικοῦ κἂν πολλοστοῦ χρόνου μόριον διατρίβειν. καὶ ἕτεροι μὲν τάχα ἂν (οὐδὲ μεμπτοὶ οὗτοι ἔς τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιτήδευσιν) τὸν ἀεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα σέβοιντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ τοὺς τῶν νόμων φύλακας, οἵτινες ἀεὶ ἀνθρωπίνως ἐκ διαδοχῆς μεταβάλλονται, αὐτοὺς τοὺς νόμους καὶ πᾶν ὅπερ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων ξύνδεσμος ὕπεστι, προσκυνοῦμεν. οὐκ οὖν ἄλλως καὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος εἴρηται περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς ὅποι ἂν γῆς, εἴτε ἐς ἐρημίαν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλοσέ ποι, ὀλίγοι ὄντες, τύχωμεν ἐκπεσόντες, εὐθὺς νόμους τε τίθεσθαι καὶ ἄλλους τοὺς κυρώσοντας αὐτοὺς καταστῆσαι ἄρχομεν. ὥστε, ὡς ἥ τε ἀλήθεια ἔχει καὶ ἐγὼ σημαίνω, παρ' ἡμῖν οἱ νόμοι κατὰ πάντα πάντων ὑπέρτατοι φαίνονται, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὔτε πλούτῳ οὔτε ἀρχῇ οὕτως ἐπήρθη, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπερέχοντος ἀμελεῖν τι αὐτῶν ἔχειν. δι' ὅπερ φύσει τε ἡμῖν ἐγγιγνόμενον καὶ τροφῇ τε καὶ μιμήσει τῶν πέλας ἐπαυξανόμενον, τὰ πλεῖστα αὐτοί τε βεβαίως εὐνομήθημεν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τι αὐτῶν μεταδιδόναι ἐδυνάμεθα.

Ἔτι δὲ τρίων ὄντων τῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐς ἀνθρώπων εὐπραγίαν φερόντων, ξυνέσεως τε καὶ τόλμης καὶ φρονήματος, οὐδένος ὅτου οὐκ ὅ,τι μάλιστα μετέχομεν· ἀλλ' ἐν τῷδε καὶ κίνδυνος μὴ πολλάκις ταῦτα ἄνευ σωφροσύνης ξύνεσις μὲν ἐς δεινότητα, τόλμα δὲ ἐς ἀκολασίαν, ἐς αὔχησιν δὲ φρόνημα ἐξυβρίσῃ· ὃ (δύναται γὰρ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τι τοιοῦτον εἶναι) μὴ ἡμεῖς πάθωμεν, μηδὲ τὴν παροῦσαν εὐτυχίαν σμικροῦ τούτου ἕνεκα κολούωμεν. τοῖς γὰρ διαφερόντως εὐπραγοῦσιν ἥκιστα τὸ σῶφρον συνοικεῖν ἐθέλει· καὶ οἶδα ταῦτα μὴ πάνυ τέρποντα λέγων, ἀλλ', οὐ γὰρ ἔδει πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπαινέσαι ἀλλ', εἴ που δέοι, καὶ ψέγειν, οὐκ ἀπεκρυψάμην. ὁ γὰρ ἅμα τοῖς προσφόροις καὶ τὰ ἀξύμφορα ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐνορῶν καὶ προφυλασσόμενος πλεῖστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο. ἀλλὰ τούτου γε ἕνεκα ἱκανὰ εἰρήσθω, σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν ἄλλῳ γέ τινι ἐλλείπομεν μὴ οὐ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀρετῇ καὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ νικᾶν.

Οὐκοῦν τρία ταῦτα βέλτιστα ἔχοντες, ἀρχήν τε μεγίστην καὶ ἐν ποσὶ κειμένην, καὶ πολιτείαν τὸ ἰσόνομον ἅπασι πιστὸν βεβαιοῦσαν, ἐν ἤθεσί τε τοιούτοις πεπαιδευμένοι, καὶ ἅμα ὁμόφυλοι ὄντες καὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι, ποῖ δοκεῖτε σὺν τῷ θεῷ ἀξιώσεώς τε καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ αὐχήματος προβήσεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀεὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὑστερῆσαι δοκοῦντες, ἐν ᾧ ἂν μὴ μεγάλως τις προτερήσῃ, ἢν δ' ἄρα τι καὶ σφαλῶμεν, οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντες τὸ ζημιοῦν ὅσον γέγονεν ἐκλογιζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σμικρὸν τὸ παραλειφθὲν μέγα τὸ προκόψαν κέρδος ἡγούμενοι, τό τε αὐτίκα καλὸν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι οὐδένος ἄξιον νέμοντες καὶ οὐκ ἀγαπῶντες εἰ τοῖς προγόνοις ἰσοπαλῆ ἀπεδείξαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες εἰ μὴ ἀξιολόγως αὐτῶν προείχομεν, καὶ ξυνελόντι εἰπεῖν ἀεὶ ἐκεῖνο ἐκπονοῦντες ὅπως ἄκροι τῶν τε νῦν καὶ τῶν πρὶν γενησόμεθα; ἐς ταῦτα δὲ ἤδη προαγαγόντων ἡμῶν αὐτά, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι οὐδεὶς τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἑκὼν

stitution, though sharing in a common freedom and independence, did not hesitate to sacrifice some portion of their individuality for the common benefit, by entering into a compact and appointing rulers over themselves. And, to avoid all possibility of dispute, they drew it up in the form of a written contract and swore to abide by it after exchanging the most solemn pledges. Other men then may vaunt their constitution which has stood the test of time, and is the result of ages of care and experience. They may boast that from generation to generation it has grown ever better and more complete—It is well. But we, without toil or experience, on the spur of the moment have produced the same result, nay a better, since we are not fettered by self-contradictory or obsolete laws, but all is consistency, utility, simplicity. Moving then in such a world, so great has been our progress that, whereas the original compact for common constitutional life was made between 3,000,000 souls, they rapidly increased to 60,000,000 of whom not one man would brook the domination or contempt of his fellow. Within these four years, since first you elected me President, there has been a mighty increase, in spite of the great war in progress. Therefore if any of you are disheartened by the destruction of life and expenditure of property, unprecedented as it may have been during the war, let him reflect that whatsoever we have acquired in the past we can win over again in the future; and then let him look at this noble land and the spirit of its inhabitants and take courage for, while other things are lightly spent, these things are eternal and indestructible.

Three wars have overtaken us since the Union. In the first, we stood alone against the British nation, at that time the mightiest and best equipped of all; yet we showed such courage and determination, that although, as it happened, we did not fully realize our expectations, still we gave an impression of strength by the vigour with which we fought. In the second, which we fought against Mexico, while losing none of our prestige, we acquired a

μνησθήσεται, οἱ δὲ ἔκγονοι τῶν ἡμῖν ἐπαναστάντων τὰ ἔργα τῶν προγόνων ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ἕξουσι καὶ εὐφημεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἀθέων καὶ ἀφίλων τινῶν βουλήσονται, τῶν δὲ ἀνδραπόδων τὴν ἐλευθέρωσιν καὶ τὴν γενομένην ὁμόνοιαν ἀεὶ ἀνὰ στόμα ἔχοντες ὑμνήσουσιν, οὐχ' αὐτοῖς τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἀναφέροντες μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ δαιμονίῳ. ταῦτα δὲ ὑμῖν ὡς οὐ πολὺν ἔτι χρόνον ἐπιβιωσόμενος ἀλλ'ὅσον οὐκ ἐς βίου καταστροφὴν ἀφικόμενος, ὥσπερ μαντευόμενος προφωνῶ. πολλαὶ γάρ μοι καθ' ἡμέραν κρύφα φῆμαι ἐπιφοιτῶσαι θάνατον ἀπειλοῦσιν· τηρήσατε οὖν τοὺς λόγους καὶ ὅταν ἔργῳ τελεωθῶσιν, μὴ ἐμὲ τὸν προειπόντα τε ὑμῖν καὶ παντὸς πόνου συλλαβόντα ἄγαν ἀκλεῶς ἀφανίσητε.

large additional and valuable tract of territory. This late war, now rapidly drawing to a close, whether you judge by the numbers of combatants, or the high state of perfection of the arms and other engines of destruction, or last but not least, by the mighty issues involved, I reckon to be the most momentous of all, as well as the most profitable to ourselves. For if we bring it to a happy conclusion (as it is safe to infer) just think what a glorious prize we shall have won, not only to have set free 3,000,000 men but also to have proved to the world that the foundation of the Union cannot be shaken either by revolution or by any other means or devices whatsoever—In a word, amongst all the varied works which the genius of mankind has contrived, nothing yet without divine collaboration, has rivalled our constitution. That constitution our enemies would destroy!

I suppose there is no need for me to enlarge on such matters of common knowledge as the complete and unqualified freedom we enjoy, both of speech and action. What then more natural than that, living as we do in such a country and with such an organization, our characters should be found to match it. This is just what has happened. Our greatest asset, the quality by virtue of which we have towered above our neighbours in the past and present is the law-abiding, orderly spirit which animates us, a spirit which makes it impossible for us to exist for the shortest space of time without law or political organization. Other peoples, whose reputation and standard of life are worthy of all respect, may pay their regard to the man for the moment in authority, who exercises his power to carry out the law. We look beyond the guardians of the law, who succeed each other in the ordinary course of humanity, reserving our reverence for Law itself, for the underlying bond which knits together civic society. It is therefore no idle word which has been said about us, that wheresoever in the world fate casts out a handful of us, even if it be a desert, we start at once to make laws and appoint men to enforce them. Conse-

quently I am speaking nothing but the sober truth when I say that among us law is the supreme arbiter, and that there is no one exalted enough in wealth or station to take advantage of his position to disregard it. This spirit, bred in our bones, has been still further fostered by education and environment, with the result that not only have we ourselves enjoyed the full security of sound legislation, but have been able to impart some of it to others.

Now there are three things which contribute more than aught else to success—shrewdness, daring and pride. Of these we have our full share. But here there is some danger that without self-restraint, shrewdness may degenerate into cunning, daring into recklessness, pride into boastfulness. It is possible that some such process has taken place in us. Let us be on our guard against it and not mar our present good fortune for a minor defect such as this. Sobriety often fails to find a home in men unusually prosperous. I know well that what I say is not altogether pleasant, but I have not failed to call attention to it, lest my speech should become a mere panegyric, without blame where blame is due. That man is most likely to succeed, who in his own case can detect and guard against the defects of his qualities. But let what I have said suffice about it, as this is the only point in which we are not unrivalled in virtue, wisdom and success.

With these three great advantages of a mighty and homogeneous empire, a polity which guarantees equality before the law to all, a moral nurture such as those described, with the further advantage of unity of race and language, to what a point, think you, with God's help, of prestige and power and glory we may hope to attain? It is our habit to think we are left behind if we are not largely ahead of our rivals. Should we occasionally fail in some measure, we do not stop in dismay to reckon up the tale of our loss, but we set off the great advantages we have won against the small ground we have lost. We look upon the benefit of the moment as unworthy of comparison with that which is to be; we

are not content to equal our predecessors; we are angry if we have not largely surpassed them. In a word we are forever labouring to be first and foremost both of the past and present. I know well that when our progress has been such as this, not one of us will willingly recall this war. The descendants of the men who revolted against us will be ashamed of their ancestors' work, and will wish to hold their peace about them, looking on them in the light of outcasts, who were regardless of sacred or human obligations; they will forever have on their lips and glorify the liberator of the slaves and the subsequent national reconciliation, while laying the credit of their good fortune to Divine help. These last words I speak to you with a prophetic instinct, as one who has not long to live but has nearly reached his goal. Every day secret visions haunt me, whispering to me of my death. Bear then my words in mind, and when they are fulfilled do not altogether banish from your mind the name and fame of one who shared in all your labours and who foretold your future greatness.

SPEECHES
ON
THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN

(These speeches appeared—after their first appearance in *Hansard*—in what was doubtless intended to be an annual publication, but which seems never to have issued its second volume: the "Oratorical Year-Book for 1865" (London, 1866). It is hardly known here, except to Lincoln collectors, and probably not to many of them. In fact, we were unable to find a copy in any of the great libraries in New York, and had to avail ourselves of that in the Library of Congress.

The address by Emerson does not appear in his collected "Works," and we believe it, too, has not been reprinted before.—[Ed.]

[The following Speeches were delivered in the House of Commons on the 1st of May, 1865 —Sir G. GREY moving and Mr. DISRAELI seconding an address to the Crown expressing the sorrow and indignation of the House at the Assassination of the President of the United States, and praying Her Majesty to convey these sentiments on the part of the House of Commons to the Government of the United States.]

SPEECH OF THE RT. HON. SIR GEORGE GREY

MEMBER FOR MORPETH

I VERY much regret the unavoidable absence of my noble friend at the head of the Government, in whose name the notice was given of the motion which it now devolves upon me to ask the House to agree to. I feel, however, that it is comparatively unimportant by whom the motion is proposed, because I am confident that the Address to the Crown which I am about to ask the House to agree to is one which will meet with the cordial and unanimous assent of all. When the news a few days ago of the assassination of the President of the United States, and the attempted assassination—for I hope that we may now confidently expect that it will not be a successful attempt—of Mr. Seward reached this country, the first impression in the mind of every one was that the intelligence could not be true. It was hoped by every one that persons could not be found capable of committing a crime so atrocious. When the truth was forced upon us, when we could no longer entertain any doubt as

to the correctness of the intelligence, the feeling which succeeded was one of universal sorrow, horror, and indignation. It was felt as if some great calamity had befallen ourselves; for, in the Civil War, the existence and the long continuance of which we have so sincerely deplored, it is well known that the Government of this country, acting, as I believe, in accordance with the almost unanimous, or perhaps I may say in accordance with the unanimous feeling of this country, had maintained a strict and impartial neutrality. But it is notorious, and it could not in a great country like this be otherwise, that different opinions have been entertained by different persons with regard to the questions at issue between the Northern and Southern States of America; but still I believe that the sympathies of the majority of the people of this country have been with the North. I am desirous on this occasion of avoiding everything which may excite any difference of opinion. I may say, therefore, that in this free country different opinions have been entertained and different sympathies felt, and that in this free country the freest expression has been given, as should be the case, to those differences of opinion. I am sure I shall raise no controversy when I say in the presence of that great crime which has sent a thrill of horror through every one who heard of it, all difference of opinion, all conflicting sympathies for a moment entirely vanished. I am anxious to say at once, and I desire to proclaim that belief with the strongest confidence, that this atrocious crime was regarded by every man of influence and power in the Southern States with the same degree of horror which it excited in every other part of the world. We may, therefore—and this is all I wish to say upon this subject—whatever our opinions with regard to the past, and whatever our sympathies may have been—we shall all cordially unite in expressing our abhorrence of that crime, and in rendering our sympathy to that nation which is now mourning the loss of its chosen and trustful chief, struck to the ground by the hand of an assassin, and that too at the most critical period of its history. While la-

menting that war and the loss of life which it has inevitably occasioned, it is impossible, whatever our opinions or our sympathies may have been, to withhold our admiration from the many gallant deeds performed and acts of heroism displayed by both parties in the contest; and it is a matter for bitter reflection that the page of history, recording such gallant achievements and such heroic deeds, by men who so freely shed their blood on the battlefield in a cause which each considered right, should also be stained with the record of a crime such as we are now deploring. At length a new era appeared to be dawning on the contest between the North and the South. The time had come when there was every reason to hope that that war would speedily be brought to a close. Victory had crowned the efforts of the statesmen and the arms of the Federals, and most of us—all, I hope—had turned with a feeling of some relief and some hope for the future from the record of sanguinary conflicts to that correspondence which has but recently passed between the Generals commanding the hostile armies. And when we turned to Mr. President Lincoln, I should have been prepared to express a hope, indeed an expectation—and I have reason to believe that that expectation would not have been disappointed—that in the hour of victory and in the use of victory he would have shown a wise forbearance, a generous consideration, which would have added tenfold lustre to the fame and reputation which he has acquired throughout the misfortunes of this war. Unhappily the foul deed which has taken place has deprived Mr. Lincoln of the opportunity of thus adding to his well-earned fame and reputation: but let us hope, what indeed we may repeat, that the good sense and right feeling of those upon whom will devolve the most arduous and difficult duties in this conjuncture will lead them to respect the wishes and the memory of him whom we are all mourning, and will lead them to act in the same spirit and to follow the same counsels by which we have good reason to believe the conduct of Mr. Lincoln would have been marked, had he survived to complete the work

that was entrusted to him. I am only speaking the general opinion when I say that nothing could give greater satisfaction to this country than by means of forbearance, it may be of temperate conciliation, to see the Union of the North and South again accomplished, especially if it can be accomplished by common consent, freed from what hitherto constituted the weakness of that Union—the curse and disgrace of slavery. I wish it were possible for us to convey to the people of the United States an adequate idea of the depth and universality of the feeling which this sad event has occasioned in this country, that from the highest to the lowest there has been but one feeling entertained. Her Majesty's Minister at Washington will, in obedience to the Queen's command, convey to the Government of the United States the expression of the feelings of Her Majesty and of her Government upon the deplorable event; and Her Majesty, with that tender consideration which she has always evinced for sorrow and suffering in others, of whatever rank, has with her own hand written a letter to Mrs. Lincoln, conveying the heartfelt sympathy of a widow to a widow suffering under the calamity of having lost one suddenly cut off. From every part of this country, from every class, but one voice has been heard, one of abhorrence of the crime, and of sympathy for and interest in the country which has this great loss to mourn. The British residents in the United States, as of course was to be expected, lost not an hour in expressing their sympathy with the Government of the United States. The people of our North American colonies are vieing with each other in expressing the same sentiments. And it is not only among men of the same race who are connected with the people of the United States by origin, language, and blood, that these feelings prevail, but I believe that every country in Europe is giving expression to the same sentiments and is sending the message to the Government of the United States. I am sure, therefore, that I am not wrong in anticipating that this House will, in the name of the people of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland, be anxious to

record their expression of the same sentiment, and to have it conveyed to the Government of the United States. Of this I am confident, that this House could never more fully and more adequately represent the feelings of the whole of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, than by agreeing to the Address which it is now my duty to move, expressing to Her Majesty our sorrow and indignation at the assassination of the President of the United States, and praying Her Majesty that, in communicating her own sentiments to the Government of that country upon the deplorable event, she will express at the same time, on the part of this House, their abhorrence of the crime and their sympathy with the Government and the people of the United States in the deep affliction into which they have been thrown.

SPEECH OF THE RIGHT HON. B. DISRAELI

MEMBER FOR BUCKS

THERE are rare instances when the sympathy of a nation approaches those tenderer feelings which are generally supposed to be peculiar to the individual and to be the happy privilege of private life; and this is one. Under any circumstances we should have bewailed the catastrophe at Washington; under any circumstances we should have shuddered at the means by which it was accomplished. But in the character of the victim, and even in the accessories of his last moments, there is something so homely and innocent that it takes the question, as it were, out of all the pomp of history and the ceremonial of diplomacy,—it touches the heart of nations and appeals to the domestic sentiment of mankind. Whatever the various and varying opinions in this House, and in the country generally, on the policy of the late President of the United States, all must agree that in one of the severest trials which ever tested the moral qualities of man he fulfilled his duty, with simplicity and strength. Nor is it possible for the people of England at such a moment to forget that he sprang from the same fatherland

and spoke the same mother tongue. When such crimes are perpetrated the public mind is apt to fall into gloom and perplexity, for it is ignorant alike of the causes and the consequences of such deeds. But it is one of our duties to reassure them under unreasoning panic and despondency. Assassination has never changed the history of the world. I will not refer to the remote past, though an accident has made the most memorable instance of antiquity at this moment fresh in the minds and memory of all around me. But even the costly sacrifice of a Cæsar did not propriate the inexorable destiny of his country. If we look to modern times, to times at least with the feelings of which we are familiar, and the people of which were animated and influenced by the same interests as ourselves, the violent deaths of two heroic men, Henry IV. of France and the Prince of Orange, are conspicuous illustrations of this truth. In expressing our unaffected and profound sympathy with the citizens of the United States on this untimely end of their elected chief, let us not therefore sanction any feeling of depression, but rather let us express a fervent hope that from out of the awful trials of the last four years, of which the least is not this violent demise, the various populations of North America may issue elevated and chastened, rich with the accumulated wisdom and strong in the disciplined energy which a young nation can only acquire in a protracted and perilous struggle. Then they will be enabled not merely to renew their career of power and prosperity, but they will renew it to contribute to the general happiness of mankind. It is with these feelings that I second the Address to the Crown.

SPEECH OF MR. W. E. FORSTER

MEMBER FOR BRADFORD

[The two following Speeches were delivered by Mr. W. E. Forster and Mr. Stansfeld respectively at St. James's Hall, on the 29th of April, a meeting having been convened, under the auspices of the Emancipation Society, for the purpose of expressing indignation at the assassination of President Lincoln, and sympathy with Mrs. Lincoln and the people of the United States. Professor Fawcett, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, the Hon. Lyulph Stanley and others were also amongst the speakers on the occasion.]

IN MOVING this resolution* I shall say but few words. There are many speakers here this evening, and you will agree with me that it is a time when many should have an opportunity of trying to express those feelings, though few can find words capable of doing so. This is a time when that tie of blood which binds Englishmen to Americans, and of which we so often talk, is indeed truly felt, and the thrill of grief and horror and indignation which has swept over the length and breadth of Europe upon the receipt of this news pierces the heart of almost every Englishman, as though some fearful calamity had fallen upon ourselves. It is to the credit of our country—it would, indeed, be to its shame if it were otherwise—that, with very few exceptions, rich and poor, friends of the North and friends of the South—all are anxious to show that they forget all differences with their American kinsmen as regards social or political arrangements, all disagreements with them in matters of policy, in the overpowering sympathy which they feel with them in this their sore trial. But while America has an especial claim upon the sympathy of England, it certainly does pre-eminently become the society of which you, Sir, are the chairman, and all of us who, though not members of this society, have advocated its principles, and have believed with you that the restoration of the American Union with emancipation for its condition and freedom for its bond will be a blessing to this country, and to the world, to hasten to come forward and try to show what we feel when this man is struck down; to whom of all men it would seem as though God had entrusted the duty of restoring the Union and of freeing it from slavery—struck down, too, just at that time when he had reason to hope that that task at which he had been toiling with such devotion and such single-minded earnestness was on the point of being accomplished. The handwriting on the wall was guiding

*"That this meeting desires to give utterance to the feelings of grief and horror with which it has heard of the assassination of President Lincoln and the murderous attack upon Mr. Seward, and to convey to Mrs. Lincoln and to the United States Government and people an expression of its profound sympathy and heartfelt condolence."

him, and in those words of solemn beauty which he was allowed to utter at his recent inauguration—though even then the knife of the assassin was hanging over his head—he showed, to quote those very words, that he saw that "God had willed that this offence should cease, though there was woe upon all those, whether in the North or in the South, through whom this offence had come." And if we can surely prophesy any one result that will follow from this foul crime, it is this—that that offence will all the more speedily cease, and that this foul deed has sealed the quick and irrevocable doom of slavery. Like you, Sir, I do not lay this crime to the charge of the slaveholding leaders of the rebellion. It would be unpardonable for any Englishman to add fuel to that fire of anger from the burning up of his heart by which every American must pray that he may be preserved, by saying or insinuating that any of those leaders either instigated this crime or were cognizant of it. But, Sir, I do trace it to the influence of that system of slaveholding which those leaders have thought to preserve. Doubtless, this assassin and his miserable accomplices were men of a morbid nature—abnormal monsters, the growth of a social system by which every bad passion, provided only it were wreaked upon the weak and the helpless, was legalized—a system by which assassination was organized, for what, after all, was the lynch law of the South, which burned black men alive, and murdered white men because they were Abolitionists, but organized assassination? I say it needed the influence of such a system as this to send such a man as that miserable Booth, as I see by *The Times* to-day, to gloat over the execution of John Brown, and train even him to this parricide. If there be any man left in the Free States whom the experience of the last few years has not taught that there is no peace, no safety for his country, until the sin of slavery is wiped out, that there are no terms possible between the Union and slavery, this crime will have convinced him. I have only one word more to add. We must not allow the ship which leaves our shores tonight to take merely the

message of our sympathy with the widow and the orphans—with that country which has truly lost its father. I am sure this meeting will not be content with the mere expression of their sympathy with our kinsmen in this their present calamity, but we should wish to add to it an expression of our faith in their future, our confident belief that they have learnt the lesson of our common history, that even in this hour of their trial they will show what strength a free and Christian people have to bear up against such a blow, than which none more severe ever fell upon any nationality, and to bear up against it, not only without their power being paralyzed, but without any diminution either of their self-reliance or their self-restraint. And, Sir, may we not also add an expression of our hopeful trust that those rulers to whom God has now entrusted their fate will be so imbued with the spirit of the patriot statesman whom they have lost—that spirit of mingled firmness and moderation, which, exercised as it has been under circumstances than which none were ever more trying, has made the name of Abraham Lincoln one that will be pre-eminent in all future history—that they will continue his work of restoring peace to their country and of insuring freedom to all who dwell in it, undisturbed even by that temptation to vengeance to which I believe they will not yield, but which must beset them with a strength proportioned to the unparalleled atrocity of the crime which has provoked it?

SPEECH OF MR. STANSFELD

MEMBER FOR HALIFAX.

The resolution which I have to move is in these words:—

"That this meeting desires also to express the entire confidence which it feels in the determination and power of the Government and the people of the United States to carry out to the full the policy of which Abraham Lincoln's Presidential career was the embodiment, and to establish free institutions throughout the whole of the American Republic."

SIR, we are assembled here to-night not so much that by speech—for who is there who does not feel his heart too full for fitting utterance?—as that by our common presence and our common acts we may express the horror and indignation with which we have heard of deeds so foul that history cannot produce their parallel—that we may express our deep, our heartfelt sympathy with the wife who has become a widow, and with the nation which staggers wildly moaning beneath the loss of its elect. But we are here, it seems to me, for a further purpose. I at least can take no part in these proceedings, at this the time of its direst trial, at its momentous crisis, without also expressing my sympathy for a cause which began by being noble, which grew to be righteous, and which, above all, by the acts, by the life, and by the death of the martyred President, has become consecrated in our eyes. The cause of the North was in its inception noble. One who ranks high among us in influence and in position, and whose opinion upon this very question as well as upon many others deserves our respect—Lord Russell—once said that the North was fighting for empire and the South for independence. He has himself upon many occasions supplied the omissions which rendered incorrect and incomplete that definition of this mighty struggle. The South was fighting for independence, but for independence with the sole, the avowed, the deliberate purpose of promoting and perpetuating the institution of human slavery. Jefferson Davis, at a time when some of us, perhaps even some who wished well to this great cause, doubted of the persistency of the North, was said to have established a nationality. But the nationality which he established had no right of existence, for it was founded upon a national crime, and it has met with the deserved fate of those who set themselves alike against the laws of God and man. The North was fighting for empire! No; the North was fighting for a common country, which it would share, but would not allow to be torn asunder. I am here to say that I for one should have justified the long persistence, at so much

cost of life and suffering, in that war, had there been no other question than Secession concerned in it. But the crime of the South was from the very first the justification of that great cause of which the North was, it may be, at first in some part an unconscious, or, if you will, in some part an unwilling instrument. Well, then, this cause, which began by being noble, grew, as I have said, to be a righteous cause. Step by step the North grew to the height of this great, this holy argument. Every fear, every hope of those who wished ill to the Republic was disappointed. Each delay, each difficulty, each defeat, seemed to serve but to render more stern the resolve to render higher and more pure the policy of the North, until from their original standpoint of the non-extension of slavery, up through the Emancipation Proclamation, to the final decree abolishing slavery throughout the States, the North rose to the full sense of that duty which perfected their right; and then, Sir, and not till then, victory was permitted finally to be theirs. We used to hear a good deal about the hypocrisy and the shortcomings of the North on this question of slavery. I have never been able to understand how this view, even if correct, could justify positive sympathies and flagrant acts in favour of a Confederacy based and founded upon the institution of slavery. But who, let me ask, made these men judges of the fitting appointments in a providential scheme? I for one cannot look back upon this mighty struggle without feeling that there was there a great and superhuman purpose, and without now rejoicing that it has been fulfilled and that by the task of its fulfilment, through all their efforts and their suffering, the Union has been purified, and this mighty convulsion of our race has been justified in the decrees of God and before the eyes of men. And now, who was it who from the first watched over and controlled for good the varying and progressive phases of this mighty strife? Who was the man who took his stand first within the Constitution and the law, upon the ground of the non-extension of slavery to the territories of the United States, who then came to feel that as an act

of war he might issue his Emancipation Proclamation, who next defeated the machinations of that party which loved the Union in such wise that for the Union they would sacrifice that sacred object which alone justified the war? Who was it who contributed more than any other man, perhaps, to the passing of the final abolition decree? Who was it who, when victory seemed already dawning upon the arms of the North before Richmond, was already there, thinking and busying himself about the work of reconstruction and of peace? Who was it whose face we have been told ever since those days seemed radiant and illuminated with blessed thoughts of mercy and peace? Who was the man who, commencing amid the suspicions and the unfavourable criticisms of the world, simply by dint of his own simplicity of character, his own steadfastness and faithfulness, and utter unselfishness of purpose, had won his way to the admiration of the world? Who was it but this man of the people, this uneducated man, without experience in great affairs, this man whose heart visibly before the world grew sadder and gentler to the last amid all the death and the suffering which he witnessed and which he might not allay to the end? Who was it but Abraham Lincoln—Lincoln, the martyr of his country's and of freedom's cause? Sir, it is right and it is necessary that we should say thus much. Great as has been the moral progress of the States, their greatest danger, their time of sorest trial and temptation, is not at an end. If anything can soothe and strengthen them for this trying time, I believe it will be the deep-felt, the spontaneous, the universal burst of sympathy which will crowd to them across the Atlantic from the nations of Europe. Let us ardently hope, let us devoutly and earnestly pray, that they may be equal to this great occasion, that they may disappoint all vain fears, and if it be possible that now a malicious hope be harboured in any human breast that they may disappoint it too, and that the President, the Government, and the people of the United States may be true, as I believe—and as I ask you to say that you believe—them to be true to the memory and the example of him who was the guide and the martyr of their cause.

MR. RALPH WALDO EMERSON'S ORATION ON THE DEATH OF MR. LINCOLN

(The following address was delivered by Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson, the orator, poet, and essayist, at Concord, Massachusetts, on occasion of the funeral services in honour of Mr. Lincoln.)

WE MEET under the gloom of a calamity which darkens down over the minds of good men in all civilized society, as the fearful tidings travel over the sea, over land, from country to country, like the shadow of an uncalculated eclipse over the planet. Old as history is, and manifold as are its tragedies, I doubt if any death has caused so much pain to mankind as this has caused or will cause, on its announcement; and this not so much because nations are by modern arts brought so closely together, as because of the mysterious hopes and fears which, in the present day, are connected with the name and institutions of America. In this country, on Saturday, every one was struck dumb, and saw, at first, only deep below deep, as he meditated on the ghastly blow. And, perhaps, at this hour, when the coffin which contains the dust of the President sets forward on its long march through mourning States, on its way to his home in Illinois, we might well be silent, and suffer the awful voices of the time to thunder to us. Yes, but that first despair was brief; the man was not so to be mourned. He was the most active and hopeful of men; and his work had not perished; but acclamations of praise for the task he had accomplished burst out into a song of triumph, which even tears for his death cannot keep down. The President stood before us a man of the people. He was thoroughly American, had never crossed the sea, had never been spoiled by English insularity or French dissipation; a quiet, native, aboriginal man, as an acorn from the oak; no aping of foreigners, no frivolous accomplishments; Kentuckian born, working on a farm, a flatboatman, a captain in the Blackhawk war, a country lawyer, a representative in the rural legislature of Illinois

—on such modest foundations the broad structure of his fame was laid. How slowly, and yet by happily prepared steps, he came to his place! All of us remember—it is only a history of five or six years—the surprise and disappointment of the country at his first nomination at Chicago. Mr. Seward, then in the culmination of his good fame, was the favourite of the Eastern States. And when the new and comparatively unknown name of Lincoln was announced (notwithstanding the report of the acclamations of that convention) we heard the result coldly and sadly. It seemed too rash, on a purely local reputation, to build so grave a trust, in such anxious times; and men naturally talked of the chances in politics as incalculable. But it turned out not to be chance. The profound good opinion which the people of Illinois and of the West had conceived of him, and which they had imparted to their colleagues, that they also might justify themselves to their constituents at home, was not rash, though they did not begin to know the richness of his worth. A plain man of the people, an extraordinary fortune attended him. Lord Bacon says, "Manifest virtues procure reputation; occult ones, fortune." He offered no shining qualities at the first encounter; he did not offend by superiority. He had a face and manner which disarmed suspicion, which inspired confidence, which confirmed goodwill. He was a man without vices. He had a strong sense of duty which it was very easy for him to obey. Then he had what farmers call a long head; was excellent in working out the sum for himself, in arguing his case and convincing you fairly and firmly. Then it turned out that he was a great worker, and, prodigious faculty of performance, worked easily. A good worker is so rare; everybody has some one disabling quality. But this man was found to the very core, cheerful, persistent, all right for labour, and liked nothing so well. Then he had a vast good nature, which made him tolerant and accessible to all; fair-minded, leaning to the claim of the petitioner, affable, and not sensible to the affliction which the innumerable visits paid to him, when President, would

have brought to any one else. And how this good nature became a noble humanity in many a tragic case which the events of the war brought to him everyone will remember, and with what increasing tenderness he dealt when a whole race was on his compassion. The poor negro said of him, on an impressive occasion, "Massa Linkum am eberywhere." Then his broad good humour, running easily into jocular talk, in which he delighted and in which he excelled, was a rich gift to this wise man. It enabled him to keep his secret, to meet every kind of man and every rank in society, to take off the edge of the severest decisions, to mask his own purpose and sound his companion, and to catch with true instinct the temper of each company he addressed. And, more than all, it is to a man of severe labour, in anxious and exhausting crises, the natural restorative, good as sleep, and is the pretension of the overdriven brain against rancour and insanity. He is the author of a multitude of good sayings, so disguised as pleasantries that it is certain that they had no reputation at first but as jests; and only later, by the acceptance and adoption they find in the mouths of millions, turn out to be the wisdom of the hour. I am sure if this man had ruled in a period of less facility of printing, he would have become mythological in a few years, like Æsop or Pilpay, or one of the Seven Wise Masters, by his fables and proverbs. But the weight and penetration of many passages in his letters, messages, and speeches, hidden now by the very closeness of their application to the moment, are destined hereafter to wide fame. What pregnant definitions; what unerring common sense; what foresight; and on great occasions, what lofty and more than natural, what humane tone! His occupying the chair of State was a triumph of the good sense of mankind and of the public confidence. This middle-class country has got a middle-class President at last. Yes, in manners, sympathies, but not in powers, for his powers were superior. His mind mastered the problem of the day; and, as the problem grew, so did his comprehension of it. Rarely was man so

fitted to the event. In the midst of fears and jealousies, in the Babel of counsels and parties, this man wrought incessantly with all his might and all his honesty, labouring to find what the people wanted, and how to obtain that. It cannot be said there is any exaggeration of his worth. If ever a man was fairly tested he was. There was no lack of resistance, nor of slander, nor of ridicule. The times have allowed no State secrets; the nation has been in such a ferment, such multitudes had to be trusted, that no secret could be kept. Every door was ajar, and we know all that befell. Then what an occasion was the whirlwind of the war! Here was place for no holiday magistrate, no fair-weather sailor; the new pilot was hurried to the helm in a tornado. In four years—the four years of battle-days—his endurance, his fertility of resources, his magnanimity, were sorely tried and never found wanting. There, by his courage, his justice, his even temper, his fertile counsel, his humanity, he stood, an heroic figure in the centre of an heroic epoch. He is the true history of the American people in his time. Step by step he walked before them; slow with their slowness, quickening his march by theirs; the true representative of this continent; an entirely public man; father of his country, the pulse of twenty millions throbbing in his heart, the thought of their minds articulated by his tongue. Adam Smith remarks that the axe which in Houbraken's portraits of British kings and worthies is engraved under those who have suffered at the block adds a certain lofty charm to the picture. And who does not see, even in this tragedy so recent, how fast the terror and ruin of the massacre are already burning into glory around the victim? Far happier this fate than to have lived to be wished away; to have watched the decay of his own faculties; to have seen—perhaps, even he—the proverbial ingratitude of statesmen; to have seen mean men preferred. Had he not lived long enough to keep the greatest promise that ever man made to his fellow men—the practical abolition of slavery? He had seen Tennessee, Missouri, and Maryland emancipate their

slaves. He had seen Savannah, Charleston, and Richmond surrendered; had seen the main army of the rebellion lay down its arms. He had conquered the public opinion of Canada, England, and France. Only Washington can compare with him in fortune. And what if it should turn out in the unfolding of the web, that he had reached the term; that this heroic deliverer could no longer serve us; that the rebellion had touched its natural conclusion, and what remained to be done required new and uncommitted hands—a new spirit born out of the ashes of the war; and that Heaven, wishing to show the world a completed benefactor, shall make him serve his country even more by his death than his life. Nations, like kings, are not good by facility and complaisance. "The kindness of kings consists in justice and strength." Easy good nature has been the dangerous foible of the Republic, and it was necessary that its enemies should outrage it, and drive us to unwonted firmness, to secure the salvation of this country in the next ages.

JOHN BRIGHT ON LINCOLN

(We take the following—including his letter to Sumner,—from Trevelyan's Life of Bright [London, 1913]. We believe neither has before been published here.)—[Ed.]

WHILST at Dolgelly on the 27th (April, 1865), heard of the shocking tragedy in Washington—the murder of President Lincoln. For an hour or near it, I felt stunned and ill . . . . I will not write an eulogy on the character of President Lincoln—there will be many to do that now that he is dead. *I have spoken of him when living* . . . . In him I have observed a singular resolution honestly to do his duty, a great courage—shown in the fact that in his speeches and writings no word of passion, or of panic or of ill-will, has ever escaped him—a great gentleness of temper and nobleness of soul, proved by the absence of irritation and menace under circumstances of the most desperate provocation, and a pity and mercifulness to his enemies which seemed drawn as from the very fount of Christian charity and love. His *simplicity* for a time did much to hide his *greatness*, but all good men everywhere will mourn for him, and history will place him high among the best and noblest of men.—*Journal*, April 29, 1865.

John Bright to Charles Sumner

April 29, 1865.

For fifty years I think no other event had created such a sensation in this country as the great crime which has robbed you of your President. The whole people positively mourn, and it would seem as if again we were one nation with you, so universal is the grief and the horror of the deed of which Washington has been the scene.

When I read that the President had gone to Richmond without a guard, I felt that he ran a risk to which he ought not to have subjected himself. In times of great excitement dangerous men become more dangerous, partly vicious and partly mad, and men of great mark become the objects of their hate and passion. The deed is done, and it is now too late to take precautions.

It is easy to kill a President, but it is not easy to destroy a nation.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, INDIANAPOLIS, IN RELATION TO THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN

This item is No. 803 in Judge Fish's "Lincoln Bibliography". The original is excessively rare—so rare that he himself wrote the Editor that he had never seen it. It is lacking in almost all Lincoln collections, and very seldom occurs for sale. We believe this is the first time it has been republished.—[Ed.]

YESTERDAY morning,* as we had previously announced, the District Court of the United States proceeded to take action in relation to the assassination of President Lincoln. The court was opened at half-past nine o'clock. The judges of the Supreme Court of the state and Judge Finch of the Circuit Court, together with Judges Davis and McDonald, occupied the bench. The venerable Judge Morrison, chairman of the committee appointed previously, arose and said: May it please the Court—

On behalf of the committee heretofore appointed to report to your honors resolutions touching the occasion of the death of President Lincoln, I now respectfully submit to your honors the following:

Posthumous honors, however gorgeous or imposing, do not always prove the sincerity of the tribute thus paid, offered in memory of the departed, nor even the presence of the sentiment which such honors are held to symbolize. But there is no danger of mistaking the import of those manifestations which but a few days ago shrouded this whole nation in the habiliments of the grave.

Never, it is believed, in the history of the world, has the demise of any man, or any ruler, called forth such profound sorrowing, such poignant grief, and such evidences of devoted attachment, as has the death of President Lincoln of the United States.

As the astounding intelligence of the atrocious assassination of the Chief Magistrate sped on lightning wing from city to city, and to town, and hamlet and cabin, the whole population gasped con-

*May, 19, 1865.

vulsively. The public mind was horror-struck, stupefied, stunned. Men held their breath, ejaculating hurried prayers that a life so precious might still be spared, and when the seemingly incredible story was fully confirmed, and the worst phases of the terrible tragedy began to be realized, the great popular heart sickened and almost ceased to throb; and then came reaction, and the stern resolve and vows of vengeance against the traitor-felon who had perpetrated the infernal act and his no less guilty accomplices.

And now that the solemn funeral train has passed, and all that is mortal of him whom the people delighted to honor has been consigned to its last earthly resting-place, there to wait the general resurrection at the last day, it has been deemed to be eminently proper that uniting with the judges of this court, the members of the bar should record their high appreciation of the distinguished public services, and exemplary private worth of the illustrious dead; it is therefore

Resolved, 1. That in common with our loyal fellow-citizens everywhere, we deplore as a great national calamity, the death of President Lincoln.

2. That in the discharge of the various and responsible duties of his high office, President Lincoln was ever guided by the inspirations of an unselfish and lofty patriotism, designing above all things and laboring for, the perpetuity of the union of the states.

3. That perfectly honest and upright in intention and act, possessed of rare practical wisdom and tolerant, lenient and forgiving, President Lincoln had gained and secured, as no other man had, the confidence and respect and love of his country.

> "His was the upright deed,
> His the unswerving course,
> 'Mid every thwarting current's force
> Unchanged by venal aims, or flattery's hollow reed."

4. That in all the separate private and family relations, the dead President has left a record unsullied and worthy of imitation.

5. That the honorable and successful career of the departed President, in the profession to which the bench and the bar of this court belong, should serve as an incentive to us who remain, as well as to those who shall succeed us, to pursue our high calling with diligence, holding fast our integrity.

6. That the bereaved family of the deceased have our sincerest sympathy and condolence in their great and irreparable loss.

7. That the court and the bar will wear the usual badge of respect for the memory of the deceased for thirty days.

8. That the honorable the judges of this court be respectfully requested to permit these proceedings to be entered upon the minutes, and that the Clerk be directed to transmit a copy under the seal of the court, to the stricken family of the departed President.

After the reading of the resolutions, Hon. T. A. Hendricks seconded them, following in appropriate remarks, after which Mr. Ketcham, Judge Sullivan, Hon. A. G. Porter, Hon. J. E. McDonald, and Mr. Fishback spoke briefly concerning the character of the late President, which was listened to with the most profound respect by those present. After the members of the bar had spoken, Judge Davis, the personal and intimate friend of Mr. Lincoln, delivered a most touching and eloquent tribute to the memory of the departed, which we here give:

Gentlemen of the Bar: The death of Mr. Lincoln, by disease, at any period within the last four years, would have shocked the civilized world, but occurring at the time, and in the manner it did, it has produced an inexpressible feeling of sadness and gloom. A season of universal joy and festivity has been turned into grief and lamentation. Victories are no longer celebrated by bonfires and illuminations. Great disasters do not even arrest at-

tention, and the fact that armed rebellion has ceased, hardly excites remark. All hearts are touched, and the people mourn as no people ever mourned before. Sorrow is in every household, and throughout the country. The feeling is not alone for the loss of a great and wise ruler, but for that of a dear and well-beloved personal friend. That such a man, with the fruition of his hopes and labors near at hand, should be assassinated, is, to finite wisdom, an inscrutable dispensation of Providence. But as a Christian people we submit with humble resignation, knowing that God intends our good in all that He does, and all that He suffers to be done, and that, in His own proper time, he will make manifest what appears now so dark and mysterious.

I do not propose to deliver a eulogy on the life and character of Mr. Lincoln. The brief limits of a reply to the resolutions of the bar will not admit of it, and time has not yet sufficiently chastened this affliction to us, to do it wisely. His career in life was remarkable as well as glorious, and illustrates the beneficence of our free institutions. From the humblest poverty, without education, or the means of attaining it; unaided by wealth or influential family connections, he rose, solely by the strength of his intellect and the force of his character, to the highest position in the world. He died a patriot martyr, and the greatest man of the generation in which he lived. Hereafter history will associate him with the benefactors of mankind, and with the great and good men of every age. To you, gentlemen, it has seemed to me more appropriate to speak of Mr. Lincoln as a lawyer. Our profession trains men for greatness, and it is a high privilege to contemplate the character of a man who has dignified and adorned that profession. I enjoyed for over a quarter of a century the personal friendship of Mr. Lincoln. We were admitted to the Bar about the same time, and traveled for many years what is known in Illinois as the Eighth Judicial Circuit. In 1848, when I first went on the bench, the Circuit embraced fourteen counties, and Mr. Lincoln went with the court to every county. Rail-

roads were not then in use, and our mode of travel was either on horseback or in buggies. This simple life he loved, preferring it to the practice of the law in a city, where although the remuneration would be greater, the opportunity would be less for mixing with the great body of the people, who loved him, and whom he loved. Mr. Lincoln was transferred from the bar of that circuit to the office of President of the United States, having been without official position since he left Congress in 1849. In all the elements that constitute the great lawyer, he had few equals. He was great both at *nisi prius* and before an appellate tribunal. He seized the strong points of a cause, and presented them with clearness and great compactness. His mind was logical and direct, and he did not indulge in extraneous discussion. Generalities and platitudes had no charm for him. An unfailing vein of humor never deserted him, and he was always able to chain the attention of court and jury, when the cause was the most uninteresting, by the appropriateness of his anecdotes.

His power of comparison was large, and he rarely failed in a legal discussion to use that mode of reasoning. The framework of his mental and moral being was honesty, and a wrong cause was poorly defended by him. The ability which some eminent lawyers possess of explaining away the bad points of a cause by ingenious sophistry, was denied him. In order to bring into full activity his great powers, it was necessary that he should be convinced of the right and justice of the matter which he advocated. When so convinced, whether the cause was great or small, he was usually successful. He read law books but little, except when the cause in hand made it necessary, yet he was unusually self-reliant, depending on his own resources and rarely consulting his brother lawyers either on the management of his case or in the legal questions involved. Mr. Lincoln was the fairest and most accommodating of practitioners, granting all favors which he could do consistently with his duty to his client, and rarely availing himself of an unwary oversight of his adversary.

He hated wrong and oppression everywhere, and many a man whose fraudulent conduct was undergoing review in a court of justice, has writhed under his terrific indignation and rebukes. He was the most simple and unostentatious of men in his habits, having few wants, and those easily supplied. To his honor be it said, that he never took from a client even when the case was gained, more than he thought the service was worth, and the client could reasonably afford to pay. The people where he practiced law were not rich, and his charges were always small. When he was elected President, I question whether there was a lawyer in the circuit who had been at the bar as long a time, whose means were not larger. It did not seem to be one of the purposes of his life to accumulate a fortune. In fact, outside of his profession, he had no knowledge of the way to make money, and he never even attempted it.

Mr. Lincoln was loved by his brethren at the bar, and no body of men will grieve more at his death, or pay more sincere tribute to his memory. His presence on the circuit was watched for with interest, and never failed to produce joy and hilarity. When casually absent, the spirits of both bar and people were depressed. He was not fond of controversy, and would compromise a lawsuit whenever practicable. And I may be permitted to say here that the great qualities of his mind and heart preëminently fitted him to settle the questions growing out of this war, to readjust the displaced machinery of government, and to reunite a divided people. War with him was simply a necessity for the sake of peace. It has seemed to me that the atrocity of the crime which deprived him of life was only excelled by its folly. He loved his profession, appreciating the high services always rendered by it to the cause of good government and civil liberty. To elucidate truth was a precious privilege with him, and he was always glad to avail himself of it. He was kind and gentle in his nature, with sympathies easily awakened, "with charity for all, and malice to none," harboring no resentment to opposing counsel, and indulgent to his younger brethren.

Mr. Lincoln's whole life attests the strength and sincerity of his convictions. Although ambitious, yet office had no attractions for him if attainable through a sacrifice of principle. He attached himself to a party when satisfied that its views of public policy were correct, and the circumstances that the party was in the minority, and could with difficulty win its way to the confidence of the people, had no terrors for him. Had he loved principle less and place more, he would not have been without official station during the greater portion of his life.

He had faith—without which true greatness does not exist. Believing in certain great principles of government, he did not complain because for a season, they were unacceptable to the people—having faith in their ultimate triumph.

Mr. Lincoln was daily growing in wisdom, and greatness, and was fast gaining the confidence and attachment of the whole American people. He died at the most critical period in the history of the nation, when it was apparent that his country would be free from the curse and disgrace of slavery. Had he survived to complete the work he had begun, it is easy to see that the basis, which in his wisdom he should have thought proper to adopt to settle our difficulties, would have been accepted by the country, and that all factious opposition to his administration would have ceased. Hereafter the name of Abraham Lincoln will be associated with that of George Washington, and the present and all future generations will equally honor and revere them.

After the delivery of Judge Davis' remarks the court adjourned until this morning.

(Copied from the *Daily State Sentinel* (Indianapolis) of Saturday, May 20, 1865.)